

(40)

To the Quenes Maiesties

poore deceiued Subjects of the Northe Con-
trei, drawn into rebellion by the Earles of
Northumberland and Westmerland.


(4)

*Written by Thomas
Norton.*

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Seen and allowed according to the
Queenes Iniunctions.

16-662

lbeit I knowe not by what
name wel to call you, sithens
you haue lost the iuste name
of Englishmen by disturbing
the common peace of Eng-
lande, with cruell inuasion and spoile lyke
enimies: and the Quēnes Subiects you can
not well be named, hauing throwne away
your due submission and obedience: and yet
her Subiectes still must you be, and cannot
enioy the name of lawfull enemies, being
vnder her highnesse authoritie of corection,
not to be raunsomed, noꝝ by the curtesy of
Marshall lawe to be dealt with as iust eni-
mies, but to be executed as traitoꝝ and re-
bells: Chyistians I can not terme you that
haue defaced the Communion of Chyristi-
ans, and in destroying the booke of Chyestes
most holy Testament, renounced your parts
by his Testament bequethed vnto you: Yet
I remember what you haue ben, by contrey
Englishmen, by nature our kinsmen and al-
lies, by allegeaunce subiects, by profession
Chyistian men: I pitie what you now are,
by crueltie and spoile of the land woꝛse than
enimies, by vnnatural doings farther from
dueties of loue than extremest strangers, by
rebellion traytoꝝ, by blaspheming Chyest
A.D. our

our Sauour, and destroying the monumētes of his Religion, worse than Jewes and Infidels: Lastly I doe not wholly despeire, though you be farre gone, what by god aduise and repentance hereafter you may be, if you shall cesse from outrages, assay the daily mercie of our God, & the oft approued clemencie of our most gracious Quene, whereby you maye become agayn preserved Englishmen in Englande, reconciled kinsmen and friends, pardoned subiects, and reformed Christians, who otherwyle stande in state to vndo your selues, your wyues, chyldren, and posteritie for euer, to seele the sharpe reuenge of her maiesties necessarie iustice and due execution to be most rigorously layd vpon you by her inuincible power, & by the hands of her true loyal subiects, to lose al that you possesse, to die with shame, and (that is most terrible and greuous) to die in state of damnation. The considering of these your perils, with much compassion of you, & with some (though but small) remnant of hope, that being admonished by hearing your friends, and somewhat already touched by feeling your selues, you will be called backe to a more gracious & happy way, hath moued me to write vnto you. Though it be hard to thinke, that other mens wordes and wyting can with-

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draw them, to whom their owne dutie & most
evident danger coulde not withhold, yet by
cause (not excusing your wicked following
them) I impute one great part of your most
heynous fault to other mens wicked persua
sions, so I doe not wholly despire of your
amendement by better advises. I shall ther
fore beseeche you, for the honour of God, for
the quiet of the realme, for the safetie of your
selues, your liues, possessions, wiues & chil
dren, for preservation of youre poore soules
from eternall death, to heare my poore coun
sell, as of one that is careful for you, & har
tily prayeth GOD to giue you his grace to
haue true repentance, to obtain his and the
Quenes maiesties mercifull pardon, & that
your dangerous beginnings may be exam
ple to restraine both your selues and all good
subiectes from lyke mischief hereafter. I
know byles launced befoze their ripenesse,
are not thereby well cured: yet hope I that
the rancour and sore of your disorders hath
by this time growne so farre and gathered
as much yll humour as it can, & the same so
rottened with your owne paines & calamitie,
that you are not altogether vnrype & vnre
dy to receiue the meanes of your healing, ra
ther than to continue, till you must of neces
sitie be cutte off as vncurable and despi red

members. Call I pray you to remembrance
your mater, cause, and quarel, and therewith
the ende whereto it tendeth: the shewes and
colours wherewith it is cloked, and therein the
likelyhed of those successes that you are pro-
mised, with the hope of your aides, complices
fauozers and succours: the states and quali-
ties of those that haue misguided you: howe
farre you be any way bound vnto them, and
to whom you rather be bound, and for what
causes: The maner of your owne doinges in
following them: the power and force of her
maiestie, her true subiects, and other bent a-
gainst you: your owne manifest mischefe and
daunger, both bodily and ghostly: almighty
Gods infinite mercie, and the Quænes Ma-
iesties excessiue clemencie.

5
Their cause
and intent.

Your very matter, cause, and quarell in-
deede, is not any enterpryse for your commo-
ditie, nor meant for your benefite, no more
then if you were set a worke to hange your
selues, luche good will they beare you that
thus deceiue you. The very matter in deede
is this, to alter the state and gouernment of
the realme: to ouerthrowe hir maiesties our
most gracious soueraine Ladies crowne and
dignitie: to satisfie the neede and pouertie of
such your leaders, as are fallen into lacke by
their leud vnchristiannesse and wastfull spen-
ding

bing in most vile thinges and things: to set
by the ambition of most vnworthy persons:
to serue the turne of our fozein enemies, by
whome extending our generall destruction,
your misleaders are both with present ma-
nes & great hopes most traiterously corrup-
ted: to aduance a fayned and false tytle, that *Magna Spe-*
hath neither foundation of right and law, noz *alicia Romz.*
can stande with the safetie of the Quenes
Maiestie, and can not but moste manifestly
threaten to the realme spoille, tyranny, alie-
nation of honoz, of soueraintie and of neces-
sary defense, with most greuous bondage to
strangers vniuersall power. To which cause
whosoever shall by meanes of alliance, *Confederat.*
league, confederacie, or other bond of fauour
whatsoever, knit or ioyne himselfe, can not
in right consideration be seuered from the so-
cietie and stayne of your treason and rebelli-
on, noz can be any other but a daily dange-
rous vnderminer of the Quenes moste ex-
cellent Maiesties Crowne and life, whome
GOD long p̄serue, euen to your benefite
howsoever p̄ze soules you be abused. This
is your naked cause, howsoever your sedu-
cers haue clothed it. Lett eche of you weye
with him selfe, (for so it standeth you vpon)
what he hath heard and vnderstande among
you, what forme of conditions he knoweth
would

would content your Captaynes, what change
would please them, what successe he looketh
for if your treasons might prosper, what at-
tempes haue ben giuen, for which of the Po-
blikes destruction they pretend themselves
to be carefull, what course that Nobilitie
hath taken, what maner leages, alliances or
cōiynings they haue entred, what metings
they haue had, what saythes and promyses,
and whereto they haue bene giuen, if they
owne proclamation say true, and do not ra-
ther sclander Nobilitie to deceiue you: and
so shall you easely decide and plainly see the
matter to be as I haue disclosed it. Which
course to follow, what were it els, than to re-
sist the ordinance of almighty GOD, to re-
iect his most inestimable benefit, a most gra-
cious Quene our most deare mother, nurse
and protectrice, to draw vpon vs the yoke of
a cursed and abhominable rule, of most vile
and cruell example odious to God and man,
to shake away a most peaceable gouernment,
to pull vpon our owne heades by Gods iust
plage moste miserable calamitie & slauerie,
and to be parteners of his iuste reuenge for
the notozious euils of those whose yoke we
shoulde so seeke to entre? And yet a change
must be made by your wyse leaders greate
discretions, a noble change forsoth.

An yll
change.

Some

Some of you parhaps, see nothing but the outward shew & colour, bycause you loke to nothing else, which yet God wot is full fauoured. Your great Captains (a likely matter) pitying the foule disorder of the realme of England, so empouerished and decaied from the maruelous welthy state wherein Quæen Marie lefte it, so far indettred beyond the expenses of infinite treasure that Kinge Philip brought and left in this land, so subiectred to strangers that had so small likelyhode to haue oughte to doe here in Quæene Maries raigne, so troubled with fozein warres and inuasions as we haue ben in the .xj. yeares & moze of the Quæenes noble gouernment, so defrauded of due execution of iustice, that no subiect can haue his right by lawe (wher in deed none wanteth his right but they and you that yet wante your due execution, but may haue it time ynough) and that most lamentable is, those good deuout men, as your holy Earle of Westmerlande and other, in whom no kinde of lewdnesse lacked, but rebellion, which they haue now added to make by their full heape of iniquitie y they might be perfittly starke nought, being graued so soth to see God ill serued in the common order of prayers, preaching, and administration of Sacraments, and specially in this, that

Their colours.

Ironia.

Massé of the
holly Ghost.

Their pro-
clamation.

the booke of God lieth open to the people, and
that god is serued after gods owne teaching:
to remedie all those mischiefs, these notably
well chosen men, like them selues, haue cal-
led a noble Parlement & Conuocation, that
is, a route of vnlearned, rude rebelles, for
getting all duty to God, Prince, Countrey,
Neighbours, and all that euer honest is: and
in this depe, wise and godly assembly, by the
inspiration of the Diuils spirite, whom vn-
der false name of the holly Ghost, they haue
in abominable sacrifice called vpon, it is at
length decreed, enacted and proclaimed, that
your two Erles with the rest of their factiō,
are the Quēenes true and faithfull subiects:
that they haue a good mening: that Nobility
haue given their faith to further it: that dis-
ordered and euill disposed persons about the
Quēene, seeking their owne aduancements,
haue ouerthzown true religiō, disordzed the
realme, and seke destructiō of the Nobilitie:
that these your good Couernours will with
the helpe of GOD and good people, redzesse
things amisse, and restore ancient customes
and liberties to the Church and Realme.
Finally, they enforme of a great purpose of
straungers to correct and chasten vs, to the
hazard of the Realme, which they wil auoid
by hazarding it them selues, And after the
ende

ende they say, God save the Quene, when
in their doings and discourses befoze, out of They meane ;
all course of dutie, they haue plainly shewed not our
it is not our quene, Quene Elizabeth that Queen
they meane.

Blind men may iudge no colozs. A man in
a darke place without light, oꝛ he whose eies
be blindefold oꝛ couered with any thing that
he can not see thzough, oꝛ he that obstinately
winketh, is as vnapt to discern colours as
he that is stark blinde. Wherfoze if you wil
rightly iudge of these colours, and see what
they be in deede, you must come out of that
blinde coꝛner of rebellion and errour where
no truthe shyneth, you must shake of the
veyle oꝛ couering of wꝛongful affection and
misunderstanding, and you must leaue win-
king at your owne faultes and follies. And
pꝛincipally you must pꝛay to almighty God
to open your eies, to giue you his grace to see
truthe and finde mercie at his handes. And
thus pꝛepared, I besech you descende to con-
ferre these gaye colours in the bzoad light.

Your Charles (say they) are the Quenes
true subiects. Suppose it foꝛ the time and foꝛ They are not
the questions sake, as they would haue you true subiects.
but foꝛ the time and foꝛ their purposes sake
to take it, that they vnderstand oꝛ mean ther-
by Quene Elizabeth our most gracions so-

B. y. ueraigne

Marius and
Sylla

neraigne Ladie, & not any other that would
bzing vpon vs Mariana tempora, the mis-
erablest dayes that euer Rome or Englande
felte. Farre doth the p^{ro}po^{rt}ion of duety of
subiectes to the Prince excēde the duetie of
seruauntes to Maisters, or children to Pa-
rents, yea or wyues to their husbandes, the
verie nearest conioyning in humain fellow-
ship, euen so farre as a Realme excēdeth a
p^{ri}uate familie. But if one of your owne
seruaunts, children or wiues, should do that
without your wil, yea against your wil and
expresse commaundement, that your Cap-
tayns and you haue attempted without and
against the Quēns highnes pleasure, wold
you accompt them good seruaunts, good chil-
dren, or good wiues? If the seruaunt shall de-
parte from his maisters seruice wythout
leauē, the childe from his fathers obedience,
the wife f.ō the society of her husband with-
out his contentement or pleasure knowen,
the case being supposed your owne, you can
not like it. If they shall put on armour and
weapen, and become terrible, or th^{re}aten
force to the Maister, father, Husband, or the
rest of the familie: if the case (I saye) were
your owne, you wold moze mislike it. If
they shall th^{re}aten to pull away, to banish,
to destroy those friendes or good seruants, or
the

the rest of the children whom the maister,
father or husbände dearely esteemeth, by
whose good trauayle, cherishing and dutiful
ministerie and attendance, the maister,
father, or husband is serued & preserved, &
mainteyneth the comodities of his con-
tēnāce: this being your own case, you would
yet moze disallow it. If they shall misen-
treate, rob, spoyle, mayheme, and murder
some of the rest of those other seruantes,
friends & children that the maister, father,
or husband so dearely loueth, & for his bene-
fite cōfōrtably vseth: were it in your own
case, you wold now abhor it. If by no war-
ning, prohibition, request, promise of reco-
ciliation, threating or other wayes, they
will cesse of prosecuting their enterprise:
the case being your own, you would hiely
stomack it. If notwithstanding all these do-
ings, proceedings, continuings, neglecting
of threatings, reiecting of faire speache
and promises, these risers, withstanders,
inuaders, robbers, murderers, cōtemners
without licence, against the authoritie, a-
gainst the open declaration of his own wil
and meanes of pacification sought by the
maister, father, or husbände, will still saye
and maintayn that they be true and faith-
full seruantes, humble and obedient chil-
dren,

ben, god and louyng wyues: if the cases
were your own, you wold not beleue it.

The Quenes maiestie Quene Elizabeth
is by al right the Soueraigne Ladie & Mai-
stresse of vs all, and of you too, & that must ye
otherwise acknowlege oz otherwise fele, oz
both to your terrour I speake it. Her grace
is the most louing mother and nourse of all
hir god subiects, to your shame and reproch
of vnkindnesse I say it. Her highnesse is the
Husband of the cōmon weale, married to the
realme, and the same by ceremonie of ring
as solemnely signified as any common ma-
riage is, to our great comfozt and confidence
I reherse it. Shal your captains forsake her
service, and tell you they are god seruants?
Shall they oz you resyst her authozitie, & re-
fuse hir blessing, & say they oz you be her god
chilozen? Shall they seuer the knot of loue
and agrement betwene her and them, and
yelde their bodies to a notozius adulter, and
yet say they bzeake no bonde of this sacred
wedlocke? Call their doings to minde, per-
use them, wey them. They haue long agoe
nourished this treason in their hartes: they
haue bene long prouidyng for it: it was
bzought to her maiestie and her counsell by
aduertisements: thei haue bin tenderly delt
with, priuately admonished of the rumors,
the

the matter so signified vnto them, as if her
highnesse were loth to beleue it : themsel-
ues haue sworn it, with greates othes &
detestation, protesting themselves to be free
from it. Wherein note I pray you the great
indulgence towarde them euen with the
most that any subiect in highest place may
vse in cases touching his Soueraignes sa-
fetye, whereof he ought not to be prodigal.
And yet could none of these two great kind-
nesses moue them. Note withall how ly-
kely they are to professe a true Religion,
that holde this principle to keepe no faith, ^{Papistes}
vse no loyalty, regard no othes & promises ^{teache to}
made with attestation of God, and auow- ^{kepe no}
ing themselves to renouncing of heauen & ^{fayth.}
to eternall damnation. Note also how ly-
kely they are to say true to you, in the
things they beare you in hand, or in keeping
promise with you for your succor, defence
or standing by you in extremitie, if them-
selues might haue any hope to escape, and
leauie you to gods mercie, or rather to your
own miserie & most harde aduenture. For
surely they do in the while but vse you for
a buckler, to holde by betwene them & the
strokes for a time, & at length when they
be overlayde, they will throwe away their
buckler that they may run away the ligh-
ter, if they and their buckler bothe be not
also

fozeband beaten downe to the grounde.
But these good men well respecting Reli-
gion, that respecte no faith, noz will keepe
any with you moze than they haue kept
with the Quene & her Officers, being cal-
led at length by order to purge them sel-
ues, refuse to appære: being moze earnest-
ly called vpon to come & declare their inno-
cencie, they enter into actuall rebellion,
raise vp you and other to keepe themselues
from the face of iustice, & yet they haue put
on a visoz of great vertue: and where in-
ded not being able to cleare themselues, &
answer their traiterous leagues and deu-
ises, they vse you soz the time to stave their
appzeension, til they may otherwise pro-
uide their escape, they beare you in hande
that with all reuerence they remaine her
true & faithfull subiects. Is not this a plain
conterfait coloz? There is no white with-
out whitenesse, no good without goodnesse,
none true without truthe, none faithfull
without faithfulnessse, no subiecte without
subiection and obedience: What do they
herein else, but as all other traytours and
rebelles haue euer and ordinarily do, pre-
tend themselues to be true subiectes, kno-
wing otherwise that simple subiects wold
not followe them at all?

These good religious Erles and Captai-
nes

nes that so much inuey ageinst faith which they vse not, and bzagge of the value and merites of good woꝝkes whereof they haue few, now let them if they wil pꝛoue their colour true, that they be as they pꝛetend, shew me their faith by their woꝝkes, their whitenesse by their whitenesse, pꝛoue themselves true by true dealing, with God in their periuries with Pꝛince in their rebellion, with subiect and neighbours in their spoyles and robberies, and well paying their dettes, yea with your selues in so sowly abusyng you. Let them pꝛoue themselves faithfull subiects in their refusing to come to answer, in their rising without warrant, their resistance without yelding. All these enormities they still continue, no gentle vscage, no good meane restraineth them. Alas the case is to playne.

They say they haue good meanyng. If it were so, it would pꝛocede by good doing, and tend to good ending. But what good meaning are such good men like to haue? Their meanyng not good. Or whatsoeuer is good meaning, be these likely to light first vꝓd it, or fitly chosen to further it? Somewhat must be sayd, or nothing can be done. Somewhat must be made, or no mā wil follow. How easie is it for the noughtiest person to say he meaneth well: but how plaine is it on the other side for euery reasonable

Cj.

man

man to see, that he that doth vnglaciously
meaneth ill: and he that puteth in execution
horrible and vngodly factes, continueth and
reioyceth in them, riseth without his princes
warrant, armeth her subiects without au-
thoritie, employeth their force to her terroꝝ,
bendeth al his doings to tumult and byꝝoze,
destroeyeth the boke of God the most comfoꝝ-
table iewel in the woꝝld published with the
princes power and commendation, wherin
eche man is truly taught howe to doe well
in dede, this man I say that doth thus ill,
meaneth not wel how good soeuer he say his
meaning is. Discerne the tree by the fruits,
the faith by the woꝝks, the saying by pꝛofe,
the pretended meaning by apparant dedes.
These men meane shrewdly oꝝ speake ve-
ry falsely, when they say they meane well,
and yet do so yll. If they meane well to the
Quene, when they thus resist her, it is pos-
sible they will vndoe you too, and yet beare
you in hand they meane you well. They
meane to you daungerously euil, and they
meane to themselues foolishly well, in thru-
sting youre bodies betwene them and their
due danger, while such shift wil last, and til
they may spie a better. But you shall do wel
to discern their ill meaning: let them aun-
swer their faults, & repent you your faults.

De

Of such a good meaning on your part may
ryse a good doing, and hap a better spæding
than is yet to be looked for.

Wnt see in what forme and particulari-
ties this good meaning is expressed. Nobilitie
litie (say they) and other haue giuen theyr ^{Nobilitie} slandered.
saith to further this lewd meaning. If any
such confederacie be, as it is not so greate
as you be bozne in bande, it shall be good to
the parties to purge them of that ielousie
in true seruice against your captayns and
you. Neither can any be free from the spot
therof, that shal be founde to aduance, fa-
uour, mainteyne or ioyne himselte to any
estate or title that impoꝛteth hir maiesties
daunger, or hath impugned her hyghnesse
safetie right or dignitie. No, no, this is but
a colour to slander Nobilitie, and deceiue
you with vaine hope of desperate succoꝛs.
You see you finde it not, you are destitute
and disappoynted of it. If suche leagues
had ben, neuer looke that they will keepe
sayth with you that breake it with their
Prince, or will ioyne with you beinge no
stronger then you be to beare them harme-
lesse. Looke sooner that Nobilitie will the
rather employ them selues for her Maie-
iestie agaynst you, to cleanse and reuenge
this great infamie and dishonoz with your

The rule of
three gouer-
ners.

Great wast in
the melting.

iuste destruction. But be it, that they had
so, and were ioyned together to aduance
this good meaning, wherof God wote you
are sowly begyled. What is it I pray you
oz what ground hath it? What hath her
maiestie oz hir counsell offended? Wherin
is the Realme so daungered and oppzessed,
that it must haue violent remedy, it may a-
bide no delay of Counselling, no ozdinarie
meane of refozmation: Forthumberland,
Westmerland & Swinbozn, like Catiline,
Lentulus, and Manlius must erecte a newe
Triumvirate to repaire oz newe melte and
fashion the decayed common weale of En-
gland? Forsoth disozdered and yl disposed
persons aboute the Quene haue marred
all. Disozdered sayth my Lorde of West-
merlande? Ill disposed, sayth my Lorde of
Forthumberlande: about the Quene, say
good fellows, wight riders and robbers in
the bozders of two realmes: O vertuous
men, O holy theues. O well meaning
traitours, O likely surmise. Is there any
greater disozder then rebellion? Is there
any worse disposition then Treason? Is
there any greater falshod than thus to de-
fame the Quenes moste noble gouerne-
mente? Are you so blynde not to see the
Quene touched, though, to begyle you, hir
name

name be spared? Come they, whome you
call disordered, to the Quene uncalled?
Are they not of hir Maiesties Counsell by
her wise and good choyse? Deale they not
in the causes of the realme to such end and
with such meanes as hir maiestie appoin-
teth? Do they any thing withoute her au-
thoritie and good lyking, as there is good
cause? Make they any laws, require they
any Subsidies, do they the greatest thin-
ges, without assent of the whole Realme,
your owne assent by your deputies & bur-
geses, yea your owne forsworne captains,
in open parliament, wherunto her Ma-
iesties assente is had: or in cases out of par-
liament, is ought put in executiō without
her highnesse will and pleasure? Do they
their things here, trow you, as you do your
things there? O impudent beastes to beare
you so in hande. O deceyued folles you to
belene it. But O mad doltes so rashly to
hazard your possessions, liues, good names,
wiues, chyldren, hauour, yea soules, and
all vpon credit of so false reports. It is her
Maiestie that dothe these good thinges her
selfe, and honozably auoweth and inuinci-
bly will vpholde the doing of those things
which your captaynes call misdoings, and
will defende the persons of these good and
noble

The Quenes
name for-
borne, to
sclander her
Counsell.

noble counsellors that serue her in so good
gouernance of her estate, with the as-
sistance of almighty God in her right, & the
dutifull seruice of all hir true Nobilitie &
her faithfull subiectes against al rebelles,
taptours and enimies, whatsoeuer they
be, eyther within the Realme or without.
Thus knowe ye, that her Maiestie tak-
eth vpon her the iustification of her go-
uernement, and her counsels ministerie
therein. Therefore when your Charles ac-
cuse these about the Quene, they accuse
the Quene her selfe. It is but colour to
abuse you. They would say the Quene, if
they thought you wold well take it. And if
GOD were so farre angry with vs as to
giue them miraculous victorie against all
likelihode, yea and in mans eyes against all
possibilitie, no dout her Maiestie shoulde
fele it with the sorest indignitie that e-
uer was seen in earth. And if it lay in them
to spoile her maiestie and the realme of hir
good counsellors, their slender curtesie to
her person wold sone appere. Ceasse then
to be so beguiled, take that shadow away,
and take it as truthe is, that your Charles
proclamation in dede sayth, though not in
theselfe same fillables, that the Quenes
Maiestie with her Nobilitie, Parliament,
and

and Counsell, haue done these mischiefes
that my lord of Westmerland and his fel-
lowes must redresse in hast. And these no-
bilitie and counsellors your wise good ru-
lers call disordered and euill disposed per-
sons. If you know them not, will you be-
leue that so wise, learned, vertuous and
noble a Quene calleth to her counsell dis-
ordered & euill disposed persons: Yea more,
if you know them not, wil you beleue that
so great weaknesse and pouertie, wherein
her maiestie found the realme, is (thankes
be to God) repaired: so great quietnes and
peace procured and kept: so good & equal di-
stributing of iustice mainteined: such ami-
tie with neighbours, such loue, credit, yea
awe of her highnes among forren princes
and Potestates, conciled and vpholden, so
firmely, and so many yeares: will you be-
leue so great things, so well done, so long
continued, by disordered & ill disposed per-
sons? If you know them, then needs I say
no more. You know your proclamation is
falle, you know they be slaundered, you
know your selues be deceyued. God giue
you grace to know howe to reuouer your
selues againe. But on the other side, when
you remember that which you daily see, the
vanities, the boltishnesse, the borrowings
with

The Counsell
not disordered
nor il disposed.

The rebels di-
orders and yl
dispositions.

without caring to pay, the prostitute abuse
without regard of chastitie, the leude vn-
thriftinesse without respect of wel getting
or wel spending, the rashnesse without dis-
cretion, the vngodly life without alberta,
the glorious lustinesse wythout feare of
God and without all foundation of hone-
stie, the adulteries, fornications, thestes,
robberies, spoiles, murders and other mis-
chiefes, in some of your captaynes profes-
sedly open and daily exercised, euen with
the gay name of a ioly stout Gentleman &
lusty courage, and in some of greatest ra-
uenie, yet like Rainard the Foxe cloked
with some moze hipocrisie: these when
you marke and wey truly, as you see them
daily apply the wordes of disordred and ill
disposed persons as you see them deserued.
Let euery worke haue his true name. And
now see these colours. Rebelles are called
true subiectes: the Quenes maiestie is na-
med with honour, and touched with disho-
nour: her doings, that they may be moze
frely slandered, ar imputed to other whom
they dare moze boldly defame: you are led
against the Quene, & boyn in hand against
other: Nobilitie is falsly charged: sowle
treason is called god meaning: periurie
chalēgeth to be beleued: common robbers
and

and theues, adulterers, murderers & rebels
are well disposed persons: the Quenes ma-
iesties counsell and true nobilitie are called
disordered and ill disposed. Alas these colozs
are so blacke, that they wil take none other
hue. Marke well. If you beleue these, you
may not saye you are deceyued otherwyle
then wilfully, the matter is so plaine.

But what haue these disordered and euill
disposed counsellers about the Quene done
say you? ouercome true and Catholike reli-
gion, disordered the realme, seke the destruc-
tion of Nobility. Shameles falshoods, fa-
ding false and bayne colours. Come out of
darknes, open your eyes, cary them into the
light, hold them against the sunne, trie them
and iudge of them. They haue ouercome Religion
true religion, say your sedncers & false tea-
chers. Is there any alteration of Religion
made so rashly as your rebellion? or teacheth
it so vngodly doings as you do execute? or is
it receyued from any other then from the
word of God himselfe? If you will haue a-
ny religion, I truste you will haue Christes,
religion. If you will haue the Religion of
Christ, I hope you will best beleue himselfe
to tell you what it is. If you will heare him
selfe speke, you may not destroy his worde.
Euen they that would deceiue ye most can
D.s. not

Tearing the
Bible

not deny that the holy Bible is the worde
of **G O D**, whatsoeuer is taught therein is
truth, whatsoeuer is against it is heresie &
falschode. How thinke you then, doe they
meane you wel that take Gods word from
you, that destroy the bible, teare and tread
vnder fete the Scripture of the worde of
God, forbidde you to heare or knowe that
wherby only you should heare and knowe
truth, and learne to see theyr falschode? can
they wish you to see that would take away
your light? can they wish you to fare well
that would depriue you of your fode? The
blasphemie is daynous, the offence dange-
rous, this path is not the way to true reli-
gion, but to erro2, which they would not
haue you see, that persuaue you to blindfill
your selfs against the truth of gods gospel

Breaking
the Com-
munion ta-
ble.

Besides your destroying of Gods boke,
can ye think that thei meane to draw you
to true & catholike religion, that persuaue
you to destroy the monuments of Christi-
an Communion? Read or heare the whole
forme of that seruice, iudge of euery word
and sentence, and then shall you see what
comforte your false deceyuers haue taken
from you. Compare what god you find in
that, and what edifying in the contrarie:
what swatnes it is to ioyne with Gods
congre,

congregation in partaking of Chzistes bo-
dy & blood by meane of his Sacramentes,
and what vanitie oz rather sozrow it is to
gaze vpon a these that robbeth you of that
treasure, pzetendeth to take it al himselfe,
and holdeth vp that which he calleth a Sa-
crament as it were in insultation and tri-
umphe ouer your silly simplicitie. Do but
heare, reade and knowe the thinges that
ye yet despise, I dout not Gods grace shall
crepe into you for your comfort.

Where thirdly you haue raged against the mariage of Gods Ministers, beholde your owne madnesse. I hope you be not all popish Pziestes Bastardes, thus rebelliously to rise for the honoz of your false Fa-
thers. Do you think al your popish pziests to haue lined chaste? Knowe you not their olde incontinence commonly misnamed lustinesse and good fellowship? Remember the examples your selues. Is mariage wo2de then ho2edom? Was it not by them selues taught to be a sacrament? Is it not the holy ozdinance of god? Is the mariage of your selues and youre sozefathers become vnclennesse, oz displeasing to God? Thinke not so yll of your selues. No, no, there is another matter. You are begyled wozze soules, loke home to your own beds,

Cruelty to
married
pziestes

D. ij. pferue

preserue the cleauesse & honestie of your
houses. This is a quarell wholly like the
old rebelles complaint of enclosing of com-
mons. Many of your disordered and euill
disposed wyues are much agreed that
Priestes which were wont to be common
be now made seuerall, Hinc illæ lacri-
mæ, there is the griefe in daide. And truth
it is and so shall you finde it: few women
stoyne againste the mariage of Priestes;
calling it vnlawfull, and incensing men a-
gainst it, but such as haue bene Priestes
harlots or fayne would be. Content your
wiues your selues, and let Priestes haue
their owne. And for whole religion, re-
ceiue it as GOD had taught it, reade his
worde: and for the delinerie and explica-
tion of it, it behoueth you, being no better
clerkes then you are, to credite the whole
Parliament, the learned Clergie of the
Realme, and those that teache you by the
booke of God, & learne it in such sorte & pla-
ces as it is to be taught. Your Camp is no
good schole of Diuinitie. Your churches as
they were reformed, the word of God red
in such tong as you vnderstode it, the Sa-
craments ministred to your comforte: in
suche sorte as you might feele the sense of
them and be edified by them, the good ex-
amples

amples of your Spinisters living in holy
matrimonie with their owne wyues and
abstayning from yours, their teaching you
obedience, iustice, & charitie, be the means
to learne truth.

And yet if errozs had ben taught, this is
not the way to come to amendement.
Know of those that complain of the over-
throwing of that religiō that liketh them,
if euer they sought god meanes to defend
it and were denied, if euer they offred con-
ference where it was mette and were re-
fused, if euer they mayntained it in place
conuenient by the word of God and were
not fully, truly and charitably answered:
Thinke you hir maiestie & the wisest of the
realme haue no care of their owne soules,
that haue charge bothe of their owne and
yours? Thinke you they woulde haue en-
tered into the troubles of changing religi-
on, vnlesse very truth, conscience and zeale
for all our soules had enforced them? God
wote you are deceyued, you are out of the
way for true vnderstanding religion, you
are out of the way for true seeking it, and
ye are very far out of the way in thinking
that your captaynes haue any care of it.

They abuse you in this as in the rest.
They regarde no religion, that goe so in
religi-

religiously to work. All is but shewes and
hipocrisie. They haue frequented the ser-
uice establiſhed by cōmon authoritie, they
haue receyued Goddes Communion with
hys Church, they haue commended it,
which if they had had the contrarie religi-
on to hart, they would not noz might haue
done, vnlesſe they would confeſſe them
ſelues ſuch as you ought not to beleue. But
the truth is, they knowe that for want of
ſufficient preaching, and eſpecially for
want of grace to receyue the truth of God
preached, and partly alſo for that long
ſettled errours euen in men otherwyſe
good and honeſt, muſt haue their tyme of
inſtruction and perſuaſion: by theſe mea-
nes I ſay, there be many yet within the
realme not well taught: the multitude of
which ſimple men, they hoped by thys co-
lour to drawe to the ſelowſhip of their re-
bellion, and that way to haue more helpe
to ſhelde them ſelues from the power of
Juſtice, and ſo to gyue an aduenture by
more ayde to eſcape the due puniſhment
for theſe their treaſons that otherwiſe in
peaſable place of iuſtice they could not de-
ſend or auoyde.

So ſtill this is but colour, euen as is the
ſame that ſoloweth, that her Maieſties Coun-
ſell

sell haue disordered the Realme. Well they knowe it is not so, and well they know that they nor their auncesters neuer knewe it so well ordered. But if any would beleue such sclander, they hoped thereby to winne the more complices, and so to hide their owne daunger in the multitude. Consider the truthe of this colour. Wee the times, conferre and examine them truly. Let not false persuations deceyue you. Be not so wild and wanton with wealth to forget whence your wealth commeth, or not to see that the Realme hath it. Had Englande euer in our memorie so long so blisshed peace bothe at home and abroad? Had euer true Nobilitie more tender indulgence and honorable cherishing? Had euer subiectes more true and free administration of law and right? Was England euer better ordered in all degrees, from hye to lowe, till your shamefull rebellion hath interrupted the great blessing of God? Or hath all Christendome the like at this day, your lewde tumult onely excepted? Hath not her Maiestie with the aduise and ayde of her most honorable Counsell, so ordered vs, that we haue as it were standing on shore beholden the shipwracks of other nations? Liue we not dayly to our comfort with the fruites of this good gouernement?

Disordering
the realme

It is such, that as the case standeth, he is lyke to be unhappy that shall ouerlyue it. As this the thanks due to her Maiestie and her Counsell for their care and trauaile for your preservation? Suppose you that such kindenesse is the way to kepe GOD louing and beneficiall vnto vs? Repent your error, acknowledge with thanks the good order of the realme that you haue felt with profite, forsake the dysorderers of the comon welth, and yelde to suche good order as they that haue wel, wisely, iustly and mercyfully ordered it can best dispose of you. You see these be stil but false colours to deceiue moe subiects, to draw moe adherentes, to helpe to shrowde your seducers in communitie of perill.

Destruction
of Nobility

And of like sort, falshode and impudencie is that they say of seeking to destroy Nobilitie. Though some of them that so proclaim haue bene noble, you must remember howe Nobilitie may rise & fall. Where is no traytor noble, how notable soeuer he be, or how noble soeuer his auncesters were. The aduancement for vertue to the most honorable order is no moze due to god, valiant and true Gentlemen, than the defacing of the former ensignes of Nobilitie, and solemne spurning them into a ditch, is a due pcedice to dysloyal and vnttrue subiects, the very
flayne

stayne of whose companie, presence or fellowship in the tokens of honour true Nobilitie can not beare. Witie it is that they haue so far forgotten the common wealth and their owne, so to deserue. But so deseruing, good example and necessarie iustice it is, that they beare their extremest infamie. Neyther yet hath the Quenes maiestie nor her Counsell soughte their destruction, but they themselves haue now procured their owne and drawen you in with them. Let themselves say of the benefites they haue receyued of her maiestie, her good countenance and supportation, all her Counsellers frendly and louing meanes to do them good: then iudge ye what cause they haue so to say. As for the rest of the Nobilitie, as they be most deeply bound to her maiestie for her good and gracious tender loue and fauour to them, which they cease not to acknowledge, and will do, euen with the aduenture of their liues, honours and possessions, in her maiesties defence, against all rebels and traytours, and namely against your Captaines and you: so are they full slenderly beholden to your two good Erles for defaming them with the partnership of so foule and abhominable treasons. And for that the slander is generall, without particular naming of any, ye must

E. j.

loke

loke for the moze generall reuenge of all nobility against you, no one shynking or withdrawing, but enery one mozt forwardeby pressing to purge himself by his good seruice from so great dishonour, and to shewe his thankfulness (the naturall propertie of honour) to his maiestie for his great kindnesse and tender loue to that whole degree. Some of them to their great prayse, you see, alredy haue shewed their truthe, in repressing your attempts, refusing your societies, & in readinesse to ouerthrow you. Eche man is so likeliest to desire a newe estate, as he hath most cause to be iery of the olde. In what Princes dayes did euer Nobility liue, or can they hope to liue in suche securitie, in suche (as it were) nerenesse and conuenient familiarity with their prince, so free from vnjust backbitings, from vaine ielousies & suspitions, from dangers by enemies reports or false accusations, from tumulte war and malice one against another, yea from all vnseruities and vnquietnesses, as they haue done in his maiesties dayes? It is marvellous and vnnaturally miraculous, that there are founde such two (I meane your two Grles) to shewe such vnkindnesse. Think not then that any moe of nobilitie be so yll minded. But be not deceyued, take the thing as truthe is, this is but

but a coloz, howbeit in dede a leud malicious
futtle & dangerous coloz, partly to the intent
to rayse mistrust betwene hir Maiestie and
hir nobles, if either were not so wel known
to other as they be, & partly oꝛ rather chiefly
to deceiue and deteine you with hope of that
which is not in dede. But as in the one they
labour in vayne, so in the other learne you
to be wiser, & to trust them the woꝛse here-
after. You finde it falleth not out so. Hir ma-
iestie hath euer cherished Nobilitie, no one
of that estate hath by her perished in all her
time, they know it and acknowledge it, and
you must fele it. You see that they come not
to you, soꝛ all the promises and saythes sup-
posed in youre proclamation. It falleth not
out as you are boꝛne in hand: they are all in
readinesse with their power against you, to
clere themselves, & to weke the dishonoꝛ vp-
on you. If this coloz deceyue you, you winke
hard oꝛ be maruelously blinded. If any
of nobilitie soꝛ any contemptes oꝛ other can-
ses haue ben stayed (whereupon the likely-
hode is that you are the moze led to thinke
this surmise true) themselues acknowlege
yet with what clemency they are bled, the
woꝛld knoweth howe soꝛy hir maiestie is to
haue any such occasion: but howsoever it be,
they haue smal cause to thank you soꝛ agre-

Clemency to
traytors

uing their case with greater suspitions: and
accozding to that you haue so yll deserued of
them, you must accompt that themselues, so
farre as their liberties and hir Maiesties
trust in them will permitte, and all their
frendes for their benefite, will with mosse
sharpe reuenge vpon you, do what they can
to perswade their innocence. Neither I trust
will her maiestie hir selfe, so yet giue ouer
the care of her owne preservation, as to con-
temne all aduertisements of attempts, and
not by good care and hede of hir counsel, yea &
extirpation of the contrarie, stand vpon her
gard against all aduancements of suche ti-
tles as you would preferre being dangerous
to hir safetie, and which haue alredey to their
wttermost attempted her hiest perill, or yet
to leaue in danger to their malice hir good
subiectes that be ielous of her preserving.
And God giue vnto hir grace the hart in pe-
rilles touching her person and estate, not to
haue too great clemencie, remembryng that
though it be magnificall and noble to con-
temne treasons, to pardon traytours, to re-
concile dangerous underminers of her estat:
yet the whole realme hauing interest in hir
lyfe, by which we all liue, and can not liue
well without her, it is farre moze honozable
to be good Ladie to true men than to false, to
the

the whole comon welth of good men that de-
pend vpon hir, than to any knot of euil men
that may practise her danger, by which the
whole realme must needes come to such con-
fusion, as your wise guides wold sayn bring
it. But in the meane time you see, they haue
brought you in a gay case, vpon trust of their
wordes, their bayne colours in their procla-
mations, their false promises of great suc-
cours. You are in the way of vndoing for e-
uer to helpe them to a little leysure to shift,
or (if they abyde by it) to giue the aduenture
of their most heynous treasons.

And hereto they persuaide you with pro-
mis of the help of God and good people, direct-
ly against the commandement of God, & to
the disturbance of good people. But, I pray
you, what People, or what Goodnesse, loke
they for to ayde them? The late tumults in
king Edwards time haue taught al the wise
people of the Realme, to be ware of suche fol-
lies. The good & honest subiects of the West,
that were then seduced, nowe haue learned,
and do like good subiectes continue in loyall
duetie and be ready to employ their force a-
gainst you, to teach you by smart that which
you wil not lern by example. The noble and
wel gouerned city of Excester hath taught al
Cities & townez the honoz of faythfulnesse.

Helpe of
God and
good peo-
ple

The West

Excester

Al

Sir Ihon
Chokes ex-
cellēt boke

Al the south, the east, eche part, the land, the
sea, & heauen it selfe are ioynded against you.
Ech man seeth the hozroz of the fact, but your
selues alone. Reade (I beseech you) the excel-
lent treatise of sir John Cheke knight, of the
hurt of sedition, there see as in a glasse, the
deformitie of your faulte, learne to wyppen a-
way those spots that haue so sowly arayed
you, that you looke not like Christian people
but like monsters in nature & policie, how-
euer your captains call you good people, being
so rebellious against so good a Soueraine, &
banded in hostilitie against all good subiects.
So eche thing that they pretend with mere
contrarietie of truth, bewrayeth their open
falschod, vnllesse they will, to defend the selues
to haue said in one only thing true, that they
rise to redresse thinges amisse, say that they
meane not things amisse to be redressed, but
things to be amisse redressed.

Customes

Liberties

In like maner is all the rest. They will
(they say) restore auncient customes and li-
berties to the church and realme. Are all cu-
stomes, without respect of good or bad, to be
restored? are not rather the badde to be re-
formed? and so is it true libertie to be deli-
uered from them, and not remayne thzall
and bounde vnto them. For he that bindeth
least and letteth freest, offereth most liber-
tie.

tie. If they meane by libertie lewde licentiousnesse, and dissolute disorde of lyfe, to haue no feare of God. Prince, law, or shame, to haue no respect or awe of honestie, such libertie I graunt they propounde vnto you, and giue you dayly examles of. But if the true libertie of Christs church and flocke be, to heare his voyce, and no straungers, to be subiect or in bondage to no strange power or vsurped tyrannie that shall set in the consciences of christian men, captiuing them to an implicite & general sayth of what so euer they shall teach without the warrant of Christ the true head of the church, then your great Libertines bring but bondage and slaerie. Beware therfore lest vnder name of libertie, you take the heuy yoke of thraldom. When most noble and victorious kings and princes, most graue, valiant and wise counsellors and nobilitie, moste learned, discrete and vertuous prelates and other of the clergie, haue with their great traual, study and aduenture, made a conquest of Antichriste that kept vs in bondage, deliuered this Realme to very freedom in dede, set it at libertie from foreine tyrants yoke: is this to restore the libertie of the Church, to make it bond again? Can you be so mad to think it? Great are the illusions vpon those whome
Gods

Gods grace hath forſaken. Pray to God to
bring your hartes to libertie of conſiderati-
on, and you ſhall plainly ſee the libertie of
the church aſſayled by your owne factions,
the libertie of your conſciences captiued, and
the true libertie of youre lyues in lawfull
things reſtrayned. Sweete in deede is the
name of libertie, and the treſure of the thing
it ſelfe beyond al value inestimable: ſo much
the moze it behoueth you to take hede that
with the ſweeteneſſe of the name you leſe
not the value of the thing. You may not
thinke her maieſtie her ſelfe, and her nobili-
tie, clergie, and other good ſubiectes, ſo farre
throwne downe in courage, as they woulde
loſe the iewel of libertie. Much leſſe muſte
ye beleue your licentious bolters of libertie,
that will bring you in deed nothing but bon-
dage. You ſee the difference of their credit,
and the euidence of your perill: iudge ther-
fore the falſhood of this colour, as well as the
reſt, and with the ſond deuſe that foloweth,
to pretende a care for their countrey, into
whoſe bowels they haue thruſt their wea-
pon, leaſt they ſhould be behind ſtrangers in
wounding her.

Strangers

They ſay they feare a reformation by
ſtrangers, to the hazard of the realme: and
therefore forſweth theſe noble hazarders of
their

their owne wealth estate and honour, and of
your sureties, must hazard the realme them
selues, lest strangers should: and yet further
withal, lest them selues should not suffice to
hazard it enough, they directly signifie, and
it is wel known, that theselues haue sought
and vsed conspiracie of strangers to further
the hazard to their vttermost. But nefe the
fraude I pray you, for the meaning is to de-
ceiue you, and therefore it behoueth you to
note it. They will not say directly, we haue
practised with strangers to take our partes,
for that were too brybe and too plaine: but it
must be penned in such words that you must
be giuen to vnderstand that strangers are of
that faction, yea and so farre forward, that
they are also redy to do that which you haue
enterprised, though forsooth your captaines
and they be not of one cōspiracie. He is blind
that seeth it not. All this is but to encourage
you and to put you in hope of aide, either by
traitors in England, or enemies abroade:
whence it com it makes no matter. But thei
deceiue you, it will not be: wey it wel, fede
not your selfe with vayne hopes.

First, if strangers were disposed to come,
it is a mad saying, let vs ryse and reforme
least strangers come and reforme, as though
strangers hauing purpose to come and in-

tending to gain by spoyle, wold come so much
the later for hauing so much ayde as so many
rebelles to helpe them to spoyle. Therefore,
when they come not in deed, you must needes
say that you wer falsly so bozne in hand with
a gay hope, to make you the bolder to runne
to your owne destruction.

Tresors of po-
pish religion.

King Iohn.

Cardinal
Poole.

An vnnatural hope it is, and a beastly, to
ioyne with any strangers to the spoyle of
their own countrey. But suche is the nature
of that false religion, to regard no countrey,
faith, nature or common honestie. Remem-
ber I pray you: what yelded the realme tri-
butarie and the King Maffall, I meane King
Iohn, but the treason of Popishe Religion?
What gaue the Crowne, to Ludonike the
Dolphin of France, that inuaded and posses-
sed much of the Realme a long time, by the
ayde of disloyal Barons in England, but the
treason of popish religion? What sent Le-
gates and Messangers (yea Englishe tray-
tours) about Christendom, to forein Empe-
rour and Kings, to offer them this realme
to prey, spoyle and conquest, to exhort them
to turne their prepared powers from inua-
ding the Turk, to make war vppon the king
of England our Soueraigne Ladies most
noble father, whom they termed worse than
any Turk, but treason of popishe Religion?

What

What hazarded this Realme with subiecti-
on to strangers in our late memorie: but
treason of popish Religion? What then de- ^{Trolop. A.}
ruined, and yet daily doth, solemn pedigrees to ^{B.&c.}
Spaniards and other fozeins, yea & wresteth
law for dangerous strangers, to make them
acceptable to the deceyued multitude, as
though they were our naturall Princes, but
only treason of popish religion?

But GOD hath hetherto preserved this
land from being subdued by these horrible
treasons, and I trust hee will still, and in
your poze case is most likeliest to leaue your ^{President.}
vaine trust disapointed. For consider the like
lyhod. The example so toucheth the common
state of all Kings and Princes, as you being
rebeldes may loke for no fozein ayde, though
it were but for presidents sake. Such fozeins
as might come to you by lande, are truer ^{Scotland.}
friends to the Quene than you be subiectes:
where, by the way, loke for no retire nor
safe refuge, but her Maiesties mercie. Other
strangers that in deed haue vttered more ^{Alua.}
malice to her Maiestie & her realme, & haue
interrupted the good loue and peace, and an-
cient league, amitie, & intelligence betwene
her Maiestie and those Princes of whome ^{K. Philip.}
shee hath moste constantly well deserued:
alas, they be neither much terrible to her
Maiestie, nor can be much comfortable to you.

Will thei, in such season as may serue your
turnes, hauing so few to spare where they
be, bying a meane power by Sea, so farre, so
dangerous a vyage, along the Duenes high-
nesse coaste, in such time of year, being ney-
ther able to resist her nauie by the way, lesse
able when their men be landed, and least
able to come agayne to fetch them when the
enterpryse is ended: Be they so madde, trow
you, to leaue their Nobilitie, Captaynes and
Souldiours in their enemies land, inclosed
betwene enemies of both Realmes, with-
out more succour than vnlutely Fortune
& the trust of a few rebelles? No, no, they
be not yet so mad, though you be madder.
There must be greater heades and power
than you be, or haue at libertie, that they
will ioyne withall. They can be content
to giue you vayne hope perhaps. For if En-
gland may be in tumult, by their practise,
and you come to your deserved end, it con-
tenteth and suffiseth them to haue ventu-
red the state at your perill, & to haue grie-
ued her Maiestie with alienation and des-
truction of so many poore deceyued sub-
iects. Loke to your selues well, the byass
are not performed, the promises are not
kept, you are betrayed by your owne lea-
ders. Call to God for mercie by times, sa-
tisfied

tiſſe her Maieſtie with returning to du-
tie, and that with all ſpede, leaſt though ye
ſcape ſlaughter by the true ſubiectes hand,
you may not with honoꝝ be too gently delt
with. Deliuer them that betrayed you,
that they which in proclamatiōs haue pub-
liſhed vnto you vaine & falſe hopes of tre-
ſons, may vpon ſcaffolds preach vnto you
the right fruites of rebellion and dutie of
obedience, that their death may do moze
good in example, than euer their liues dyd
in practice.

This counſell I hope you will ſollowe,
when the light of true conſideration ſhall
ſhine into your hartes, and chaſe away all
darkneſſe of theſe erronious ſhewes and
falſe colozs that yet haue blinded you: and
ſo much the moze when you ſhall further
note all the neceſſarie circumſtances that
may reduce you to truthe. What be your
leaders? Your two Erles, you know wel,
are euen of the meanest of all Nobilitie, in
hauioꝝ, credite and power, to con ducte you
thzough ſo great and dangerous an enter-
priſe. The one you ſee hardly beareth the
contentance of his eſtate with his ſmal por-
tion of that which his anceſſers ſometime
had and loſt: his dayly ſales and ſhiftes ſoꝝ
neceſſitie, euen then when he hadde leſſe
charge

The rebels
Leaders diſ-
cribed.

charge than to mainteine an army, both in
Suffex and else where are well known:
suche power as he hath had & vsed in those
partes about you, is to be ascribed to her
Maiesties anthozitie, vnder whom he ser-
ued, which now is bent against him: other-
wise, neyther his pollicie great to rule oꝝ
redresse a Realme, noꝝ yet to espie the true
faultes, much lesse the remedie, an vnfitte
iudge of religion, and a very euill chosen
chastiser of disoꝝdered life. The other, of
no credit, no wisdom noꝝ gouernance, no
abilitie, no vertue. Who knoweth not the
enoꝝmities of his life, the indiscretion of
ruling his owne, the great lackes & dettes
wherein he is by his owne fault endan-
gered, the estimation of him as of a con-
demned man, none otherwyse regarded
than foꝝ the names sake of honoꝝ & some
possibilitie that he might parbaps leaue a
better sonne to amēd the state of his house:
Thoughe his Father were touched with
many gret faults, much noted in y^e woꝝld,
some whereof this Gentleman hath as by
inheritance receyued: yet neuer did he so
hurtfull a deed eyther to the cōmontweale,
oꝝ to his owne name and familie, as when
he begatte so vngracious a sonne. Euen
be that neuer gouerned well him selfe noꝝ
any

any thing that he hath, whom no wiseman
nor I think any of you (as mad as ye be)
would priuately trust with ordering of a
mean household, now must take in publike
charge the power of a three or two, yea of
all the Realme, if the rest wold aduenture
as madly as you. For the case of Religion:
both any man knowe that euer he pretended
any religion or conscience at all, till
now he maketh an Apish counterfayting
of fayned popish deuotion? And now yet,
by your good iudgement, he that knoweth
neither religion, faith nor learning, must
come to comptrol the iudgement, learning
& faith of the Duenes Maistie, her Coun-
sell and all her Clergie. What mad absur-
dities are you runne into, to belene so ap-
parant vntruthes, dissimulations and hy-
pocrisies? The residue of your doltish Cap-
taynes, what be they? think you they be
men able to beare you out against the pow-
er of a Prince, all her Nobilitie, Cities,
Realme, subiects, frends and allies? One
with little wit far set, an other in his olde
age wery of his welth, an other a runne-
away with a yong wild bzaine tickled to
see fashions. Alas, what be these to carry
you thzough the serious and earnest dan-
gerous enterpryse that you haue in hand?

They

Omen
placet.

Pretence of
dutie.

They are rather meeter to fraye you from it : mete men surely to follow your ominous fatall or vnlucky ensignes, wounds and crosse, the apt and due signes of iust slaughter, or infamous execution.

But yet perhaps some of you haue this meaning that you owe them dutie, and for dutie you will not forsake any danger. If this consideration haue place in any dutie, it hath it chiefly in the best dutie which you haue despised. A mad excuse it is to say, you entred into danger for dutie, when the principall dutie bade you sitte in quiet without danger at all. Euen such a sonde doing of dutie it is, as if one would kill his Father to please his Maister, or rather murder Father, Maister and him selfe to keepe promise with a thefe. What be these duties that may moue you: weye them and compare them. The name of Percies and Nenilles haue long ben honourable and well beloued among you, some of you and your forfathers haue ben auanced by them and their auncesters, some perhaps be knit in kinred, some be tenantes, some be seruantes, some be with like causes allied & bounde to the meaner Captaines. Create things be these to moue loue & good neyghbourhed, and of great impoztance and efficacy,

ficatie to dzalve honest, true and kindhar-
fed men to sticke by their Lordes & frends
in all wars against the Princes enimies,
and in all honest quarels and perilles: but
small matters they be, yea no causes at all
to dzaw any man to stand with any man
in rebellions and treasons. Is Percie and
Neuill moze auncient, moze beloued and
deare vnto you, than your naturall Sone,
raigne Ladie the Queene of England, yea
oz England it selfe? Doth one small te-
nancie moue you moze than the holoyng
of the whole realme? Is not in all your ho-
mages and sealties vnto them, saued your
faith, & allegiance to your Souerain Ladye?
This is euen as vntoward a follie, as if a
mad soele in a tempest would trauayle to
dzotwne the whole ship to saue one of the
mariners cabbens. This is not rightly
considered of you.

The common weale is the ship we sayle
in, no one can be safe if the whole do perish.
To God, & then to the realme, to the croun,
to the law and gouernement, youre leaders
and you & we all do owe our selues and all
that we haue, in highest degre of dutie: Al
other inferioz duties are but meanes that
these may be the better perfozmed. When
now your Captains haue sozaken faith &
G. j. t. dutie

dutie to God, naturall lone and dutie to the
realme, allegiance & duetie to the crowne,
obedience and dutie to lawe and gouerne-
ment: it is no following of dutie to follow
them against these duties, no though they
were your fathers. And that they haue done
so, you may not beleue their pretenses, you
must beleue the booke of god which you haue
troden vnder fote, ye must beleue the lawes
of the realme which you haue contemptuously
broken, you must beleue the Quenes Maie-
tie her self speaking in her proclamations,
& by the mouths of hir officers, whose graci-
ous voyce you haue rebelliously contemned.

Their doings.

Nowe as I haue compared youre small
duties pretended, with youre grate duties
forsaken, compare again your most due du-
ties with youre vndue doyngs. You haue
without warrant from the Quenes Maie-
tie, or any by her authorised, assembled
your selues in forcible maner, adhered to
those whom hir Maicstie hath declared trai-
tors and rebelles, you haue leuied warre
within the Realme agaynst the Realme,
within the Quenes dominions against the
Quene, you haue broken the comon peace,
wherby your selues, your families and pos-
sessions haue hitherto bene preserved, you
haue in your rebellious outrage committed
many

many haynous and horrible factes, you haue destroyed the monumentes of Gods most holy Communion, you haue forne and defaced the sacred Bible of Goddes most holy worde the very pledge of your saluation, you haue presumed to alter the forme of Chyistes Religion, you haue in dishonour of Chyistes most blisfed and onely sufficient sacrifice set by the most abhominable and blasphemous sacrifice of wicked Masse, you haue committed vnnaturall and vile cruelties vpon Gods ministers the dispensers of Gods mysteries and of the health of youre soules, you haue defaced Gods holy ordinance whereby all mankynde is preserved in chastitie and continued by lawefull increase, you haue robbed your neyghbours, spoyled and destroyed the Quenes true subiectes, you haue wasted the prouision for your wiues and childzen, you haue vndone your selues. Trow you, this be your dutie, eyther as Chyistian men, Englishmen, subiectes, tenauntes, husbandes, fathers, neyghbours, yea or naturall men?

And when you haue thus done, thynke you to beare it thus away? A piece of the Bishopryke of Durhanne and Richmond shire conteyneth not all England? Your courage may be good, I would it were employed

C.y.

ployed

Their weake-
nesse.

ployed to better causes: your power is but
small. You know you are but few, weak,
vnarmed, vnfurnished to hold out, vnlaw-
fully called, vnskillfully guided, slenderly
prouided for, falsely abused, fondly blinded,
your captains not trustie to you nor bound
by any authoritie so to be, youre company
not holden together by any iust power but
that they may slip away as their lust, their
wearynesse, their neede, their businesse, hope
of pardon or better aduiseement may come
vpon them, your succours faile you with-
in and without, your vitayles in a barren
place not like long to endure, the season
harde, your lodgings incommodious, your
householdes in perill of famine or destruc-
tion in youre absence, no store of armure,
weapon nor munition, youre number of
horse thought not now many, yet dayly
like to be fewer, those necessaries that
you haue eyther for defense, inuasion or
sustenance being ones spent, no waye to
reouer more, one ouerthrow destroyeth
you wholly, you haue no meane to repaire
your force, you are enclosed round about,
no refuge by lande, no escape by sea. Are
not you in a gay takyng? And this you
knowe to be true.

On the other syde, beholde the dreadfull
maiestie,

maiestie of God the Lord of hostes is dis-
pleased with you, the Quenes highnesse,
sometime your louing Soueraigne Lady, ^{The Quenes}
now by your lewdnesse is enforced to be ^{power.}
the heuie minister of Gods w^rath against
you. The whole nobilitie for their dutie,
and the rather for reuenge of the dishono-
rable spots and suspitions sprinkled vpon
them by your traytozeous proclamations,
is earnestly bent to ouerthrowe you, the
whole number of her highnesse true sub-
iects ready to die vpon you, the number is
great against you, infinitely exceeding
your petit multitude, they be furnished of
all things necessarie with a princes store,
and so great store as neuer had any of her
auncesters, weapon, armure, shot, powder,
& all sorte of munition, vitall abundance,
choise of commodious being, strong holds,
one knot of iust authoritie from which the
power assembled can not start or seuer,
skilfull Captaynes, wise Governours, or-
derly proceeding, dayly freshe succoures at
pleasure, power to saue and kil by lawe, a
wyde and large realme gathered together,
the country round about within his obey-
saunce, a strong Banie, good & sure friends
euen in the next forrein part vnto you, the
very grounds colours and fundations of
your

The match
compared.

Their danger.

your enterprize be in her Maiesties power, & in al necessities or misfortunes, arme vpon armie to be newe repaired, so as a few victozies can not suffice you: finally all auantages agaynst you infinitely incomparable. Trow you this match be wel made: a corner against a Realme, a hand full against hundreds of thousands, want against plentie, soly against policie, nakednesse against armed force, the succourlesse against abundance of ayde, falshehode against truth, one or two doltish mad heads against whole Nobilitie, a few rebelles against all subiectes, the wilde field against strong forts, an vngodly, weake, foolish, detritute, misguided, silly, small multitude against the wrath of God and power of a Prince: Is it not time for you to be better aduised? See you not your perill? or is it not rather so depe that you can not see the bottome? Surely it is as depe as Hell: which though you can not thzoughly measure it, you may iustly feare it. Dreadfull he is that can send both body and soule into hell fire. Beside all these bodily paynes, the state wherein you stand, is the state of damnation, if you die in it, there is no recouerie.

Remembze your selues therfoze betymes

mes. For Gods sake, and for your owne
 weale euerlastingly, bethinke you of the
 infinite mercy of almightie God, wherof Gods mercie.
 there is no measure. Repent you of your
 offending him, embrace his true Religi-
 on, heare his worde, learne his will, and
 follow it. Agayne, call to mind how graci-
 ous and mercifull a Quene he hath placed The Quenes
clementie
 ouer vs : think vppon the great examples
 of clemencie that she hath bled, the ten-
 der loue that she hath euer shewed to the
 Realme, the care she hath for vs all,
 the griefe she beareth to lose so many of
 you that might be better preserued: flee to
 that refuge, where is the only hope that
 is lefte you: make suche amendes as you
 may, yelde your captaines to iustice, your
 selues to hir mercie, that if for necessarie
 importance of honour, of president, and of
 the safetie of her Maiesties person and re-
 alme, you must be some examples of iu-
 stice, you may recouer yet the possession of
 eternall life : and if hir Maiestie shall ex-
 tende the excesse of hir clemencie to youre
 pardon, you may acknowledge it in your
 truer seruice hereafter : and whether way
 soeuer it shall please G D and hir high-
 nesse to dispose, you may in life and deathe
 teache true obedience, and be examples to
Hollome
countell.
Example.
 re

restrayne your selues and all other here,
after from so foule spot and danger of re-
bellion. And to this ende, God sende you
his grace.

God saue our Queene
Elizabeth, and con-
found her enemies.

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